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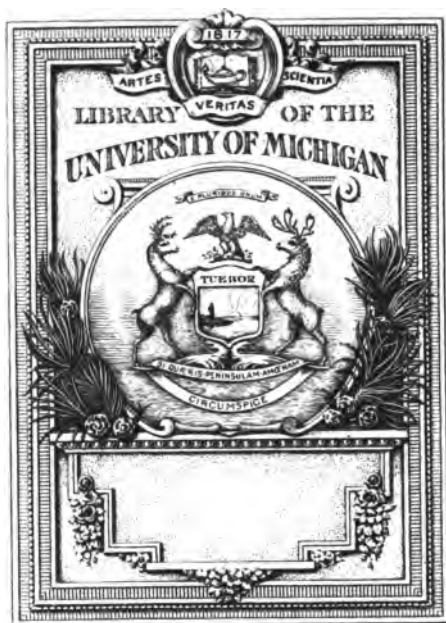
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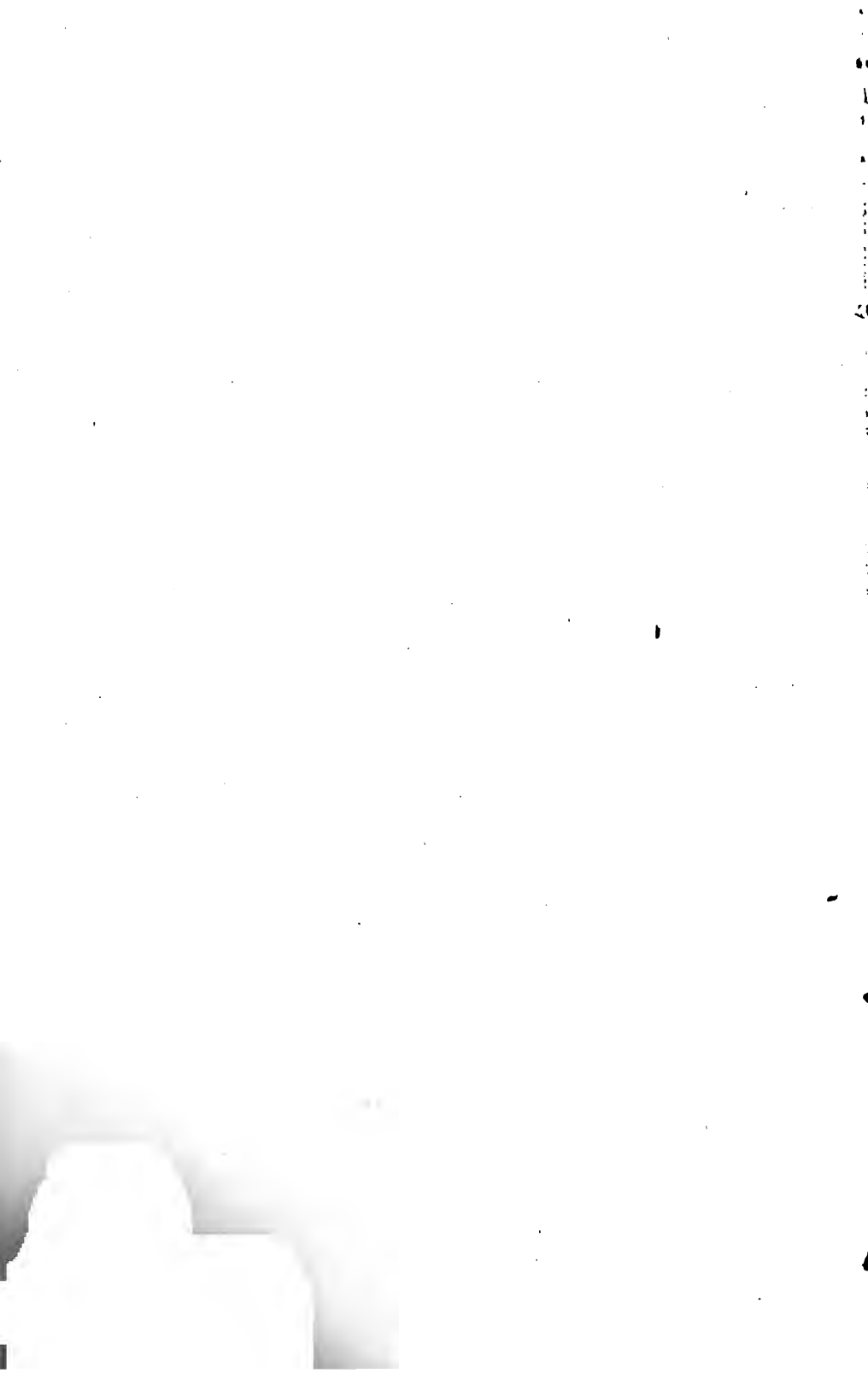
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THE GROWTH OF LIBERTY IN ENGLAND.

OUTLINES

OF A COURSE OF

UNIVERSITY LECTURES

ADDRESSED TO THE

SENIOR AND JUNIOR CLASSES

IN THE

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.

By CHARLES K. ADAMS, M. A.,

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY.

ANN ARBOR:

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PREFACE.

THE Lectures, of which Outlines are here presented, have been prepared in obedience to the spirit of a Resolution of the University Senate, which provides for Lectures on various subjects by members of the Faculty of Literature, Science and the Arts.

While the Lectures have been written with constant reference to the wants of the Senior and Junior Classes of the Undergraduate Department, it is hoped that they may not be without value to such members of the other Departments as may have time and inclination for historical study.

To be of the highest value the lectures must be accompanied with *work* on the part of the student — work not only in taking notes during each lecture, but in reviewing after it. For the purpose of assisting in this work of noting and reviewing these Outlines have been prepared.

C. K. A.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, NOV. 1, 1870.

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OF
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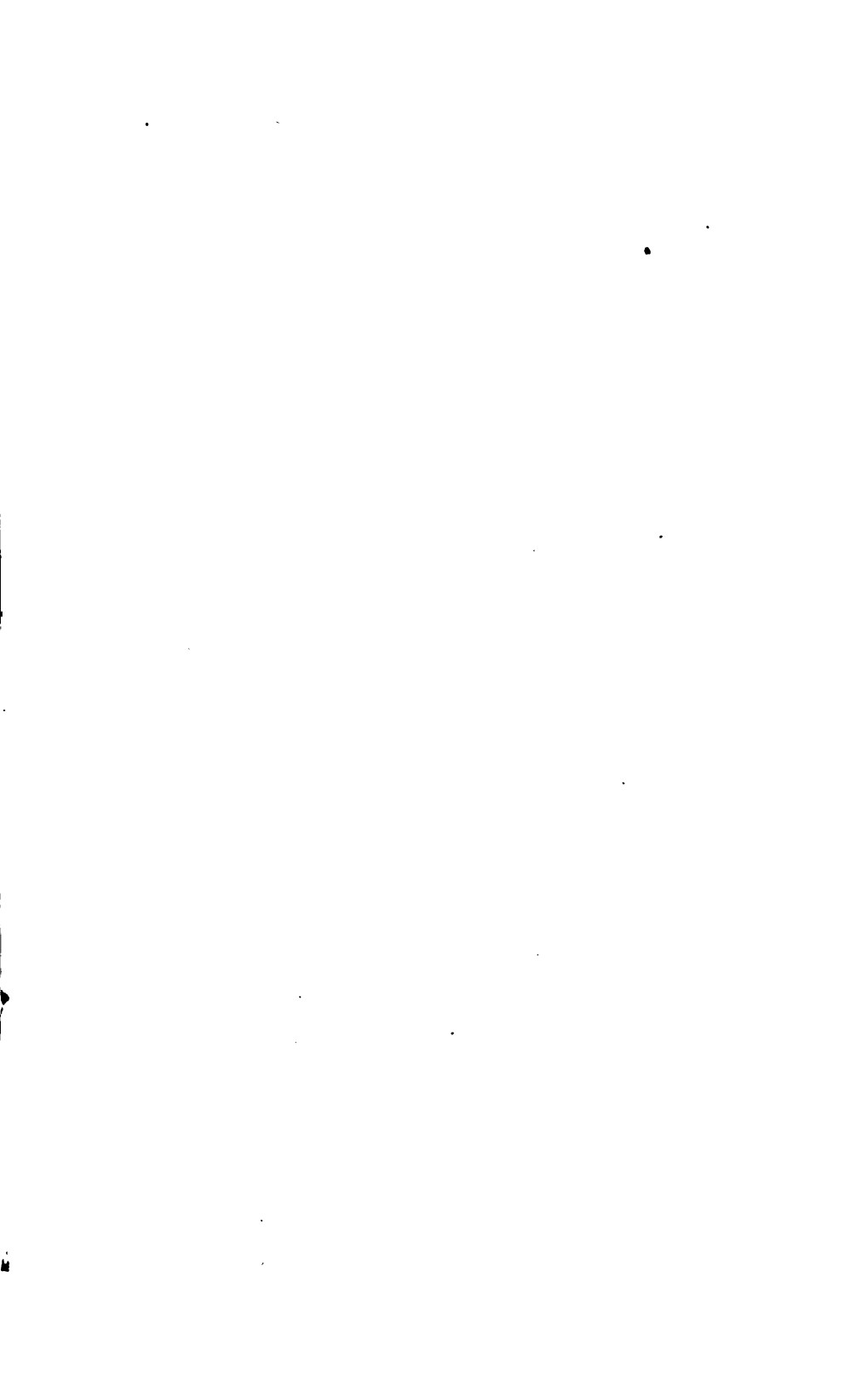
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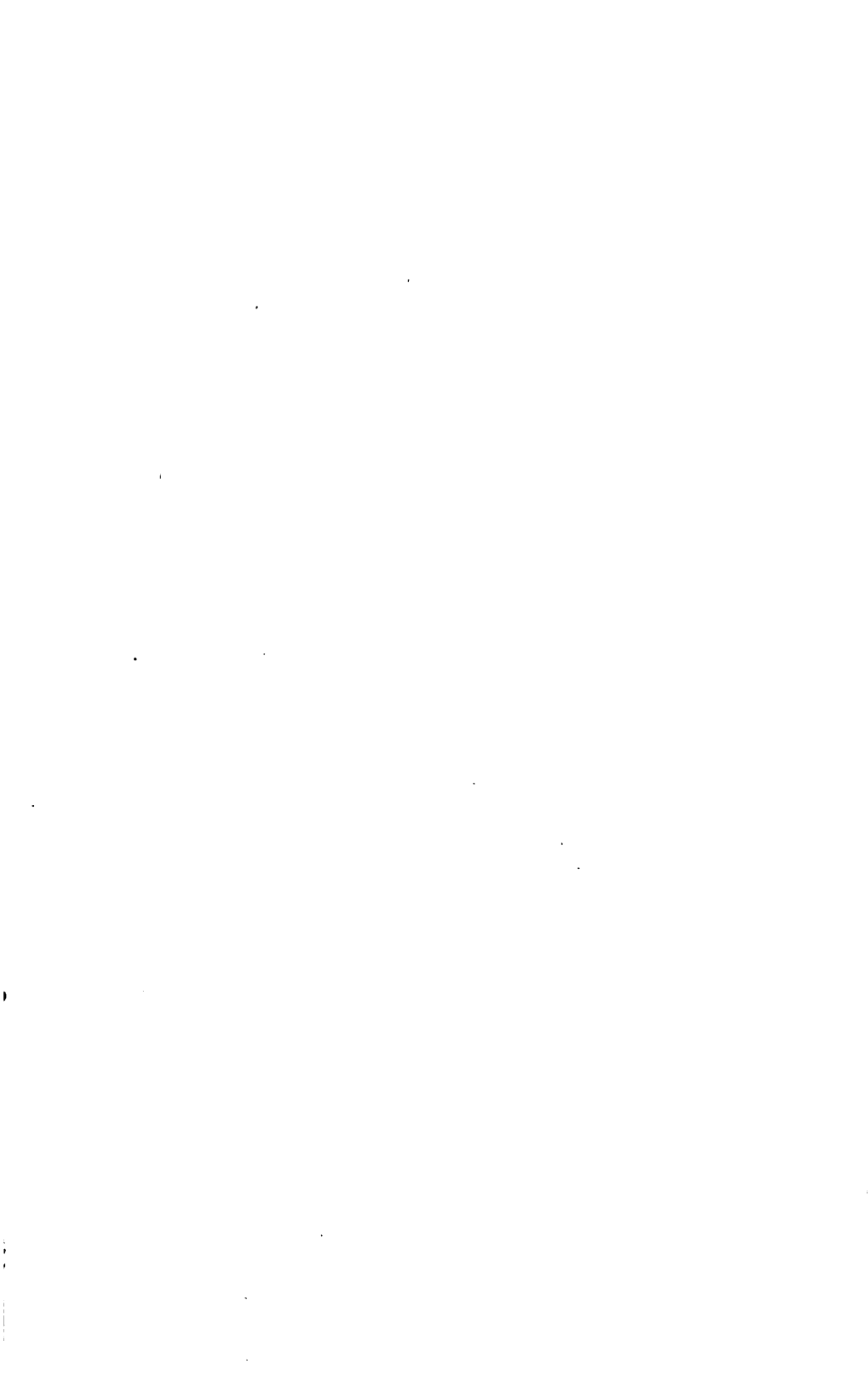
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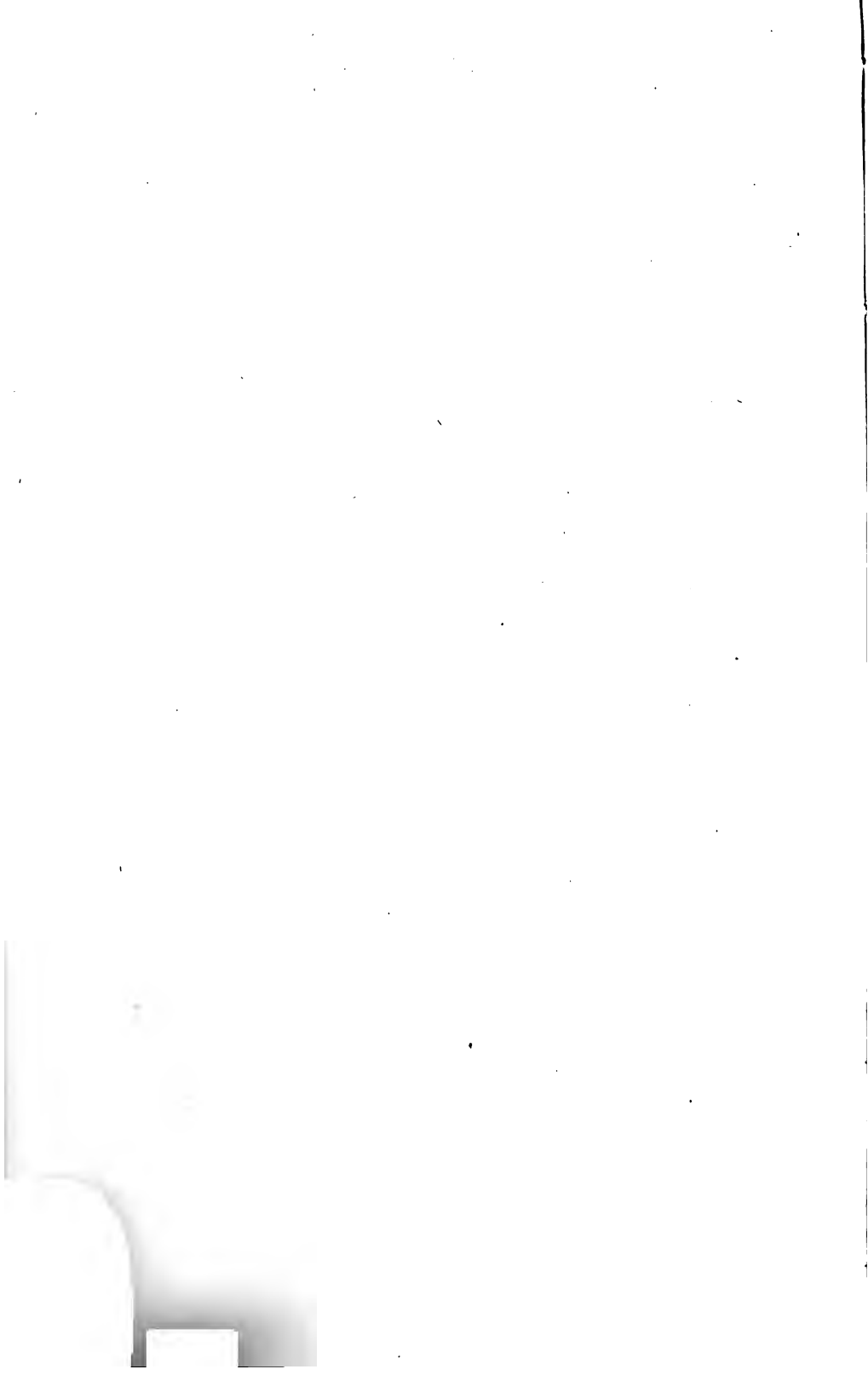
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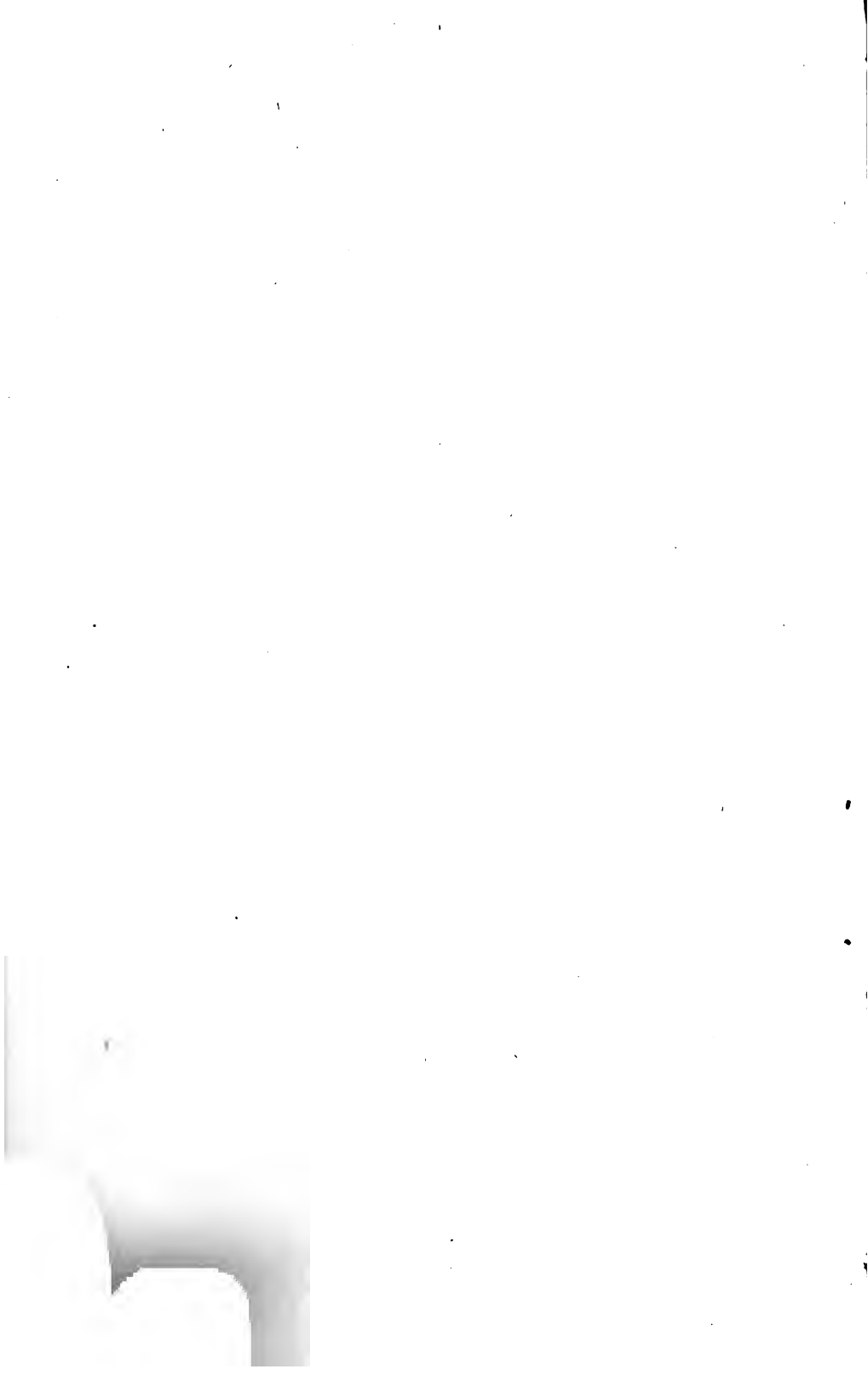
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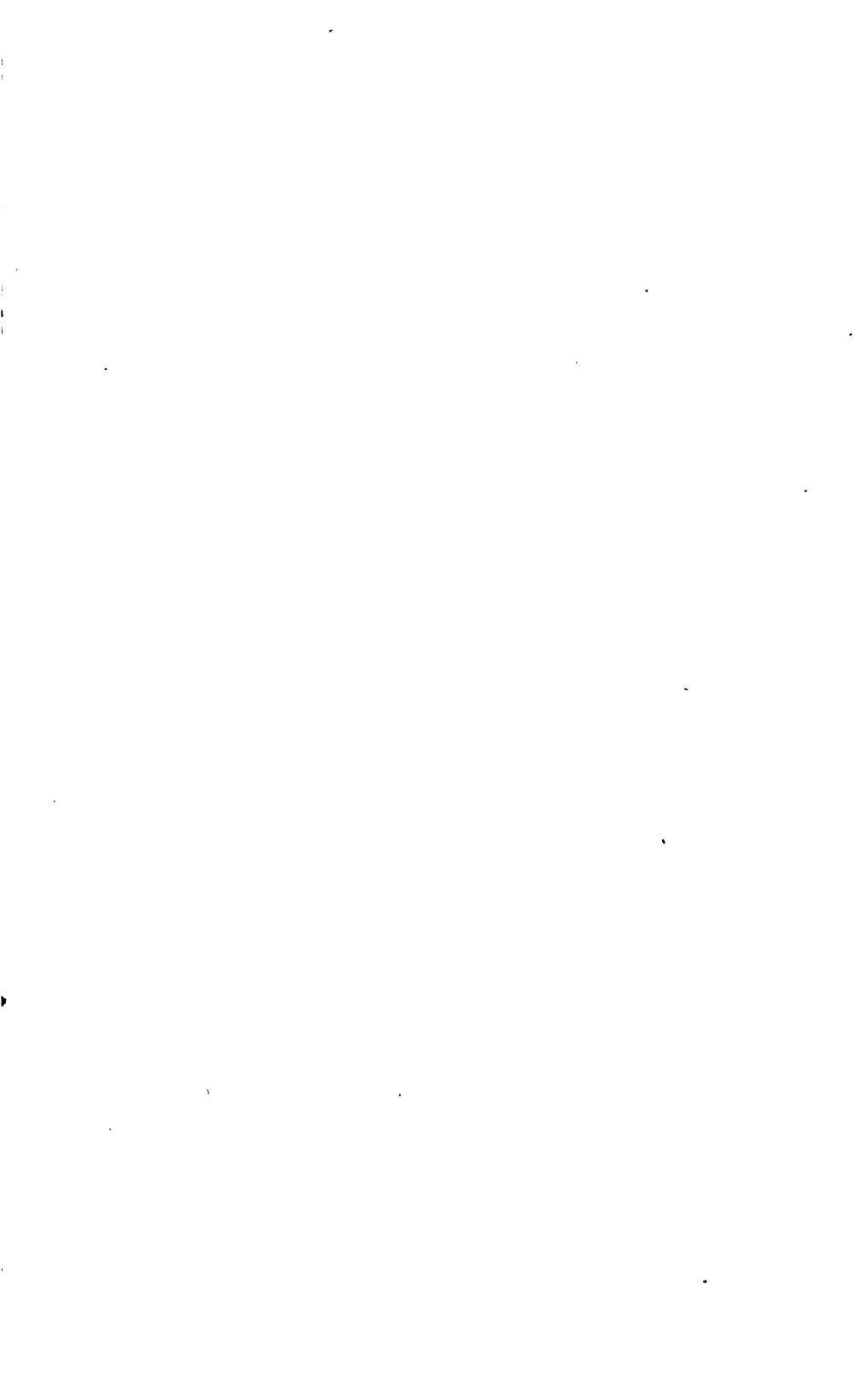
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XIII.

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II. POLICY DEMANDED BY THE NATION.

1. Peace with Spain.—Considerations which would have made it easy.
2. Alliance with France.—This shown to be possible by the actual policy of Richelieu.
3. Firm Union with the Protestants of Germany.—Facts and Sympathies urging such an alliance. Consequences of its failure.

III. DOMESTIC POLICY. "NEW COUNSELS."

1. Collection without authority of Tonnage and Poundage.
2. Robbery of the future Treasury by the Rental of Crown Lands for Ready Money.
3. Collections of Fines in cases of Religious Delinquency.
5. Loans forced by means of the Privy Seal.
5. Taxes exacted of the border Towns. Beginning of Ship-Money.
6. Oppressive Quartering of Soldiers on the People.

IV. CONSEQUENCES OF THIS FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY.

1. Universal Gloom. This depression deepened by Foreign News.
2. Charles takes advantage of German demands to force a Loan.
3. Vigorous Attack upon Property. Inquisition into Opinion.
4. Royal Declaration. Imprisonment of Clergymen. Military Excuses.
5. War with France. Its fundamental Cause as assigned by Clarendon and Lingard.
6. Discharge of the "*Monsieurs*." Consequent "Ill Blood."
7. Intrigues of Pope Urban VIII. (as revealed by Ranke in History of the Popes, Vol. II. Bk. VII. Chap. III). Consequent alliance of France and Spain.
8. Spasmodic Energy and Chronic Imbecility.
9. First expedition to relieve La Rochelle and its disgraceful End.
10. Great National Grief. Greater National Wrath.
11. The King resorts to the opposition for Aid and Advice.
12. The words of Sir Robert Cotton. Parliament called.
13. Spirit of the People as shown by the Elections and by the Saying of Clarendon.



XIV. ENGLAND UNDER CHARLES I.

THIRD PARLIAMENT.

I. GENERAL ESTIMATION OF THIS PARLIAMENT.

1. In Wealth. 2. In Intellectual Power and Legal Culture. 3. In Energy of Character. 4. In Social Rank. 5. Quotation from Lingard to show the Real Character of the Men and the Struggle.

II. THE FIRST SESSION.

1. Hostile Spirit of the King shown by his Message.
2. Cautious but Firm Spirit of the People shown by Speeches of Seymour, Wentworth and Coke. (*Hansard's Debates*, Vol. II. p. 231 *et seq.*)
4. Consideration of Illegal Judgment against Recusants. Hayman, Coke, Eliot.
5. PETITION OF RIGHT. Four chief greivances complained of. Real character of the Petition.
6. Royal Dilemma. Advice of the Judges. Delphic Response.
7. Allured's Letter as Showing the Spirit of the People. (*Rushworth's Historical Collections*: Vol. I. p. 609.)
8. Union of Lords and Commons in demanding a Specific Reply.
9. Joy and Congratulations. Instant and Abundant Supplies.
10. Tortuous Policy of the King. Steady Policy of the People.
11. The one Ready Expedient.

III. THE FRENCH WAR.

1. Personal Character of the Contest.
2. Denbeigh's Expedition. Its Failure. English Disgrace.
3. The King gives his word, and breaks it. Popular Rage.
4. Death of Buckingham. Infamy of Lindsay.

IV. APOSTASY OF WENTWORTH.

1. His Political Prospects with the Popular Party.
2. Interview with Buckingham. Its apparent Results.
3. Double Reward of his Apostasy:—Infamy and a Peerage.
4. His last friendly interview with Pym.
5. The King, reinforced by Strafford and others, recovers his lost courage and calls for a meeting of Parliament.

V. THE SECOND SESSION.

1. Mood of the Commons. General Character of the Session.
2. Religious Troubles. Armenians, Calvinists, Catholics.
3. Cromwell's First Speech. Protestations of Eliot and Others.
4. Turbulence in Parliament. Imprisonment. Dissolution.
5. The People rage and the King imagines a Vain Thing.

XV.
ENGLAND UNDER CHARLES I.
SUMMARY OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS.

Preliminary remarks concerning Instability of Purpose with Charles I., and with others. Comparative Evils of different forms of Tyranny. Those of Charles' government the worst of all.

I. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PERIOD.

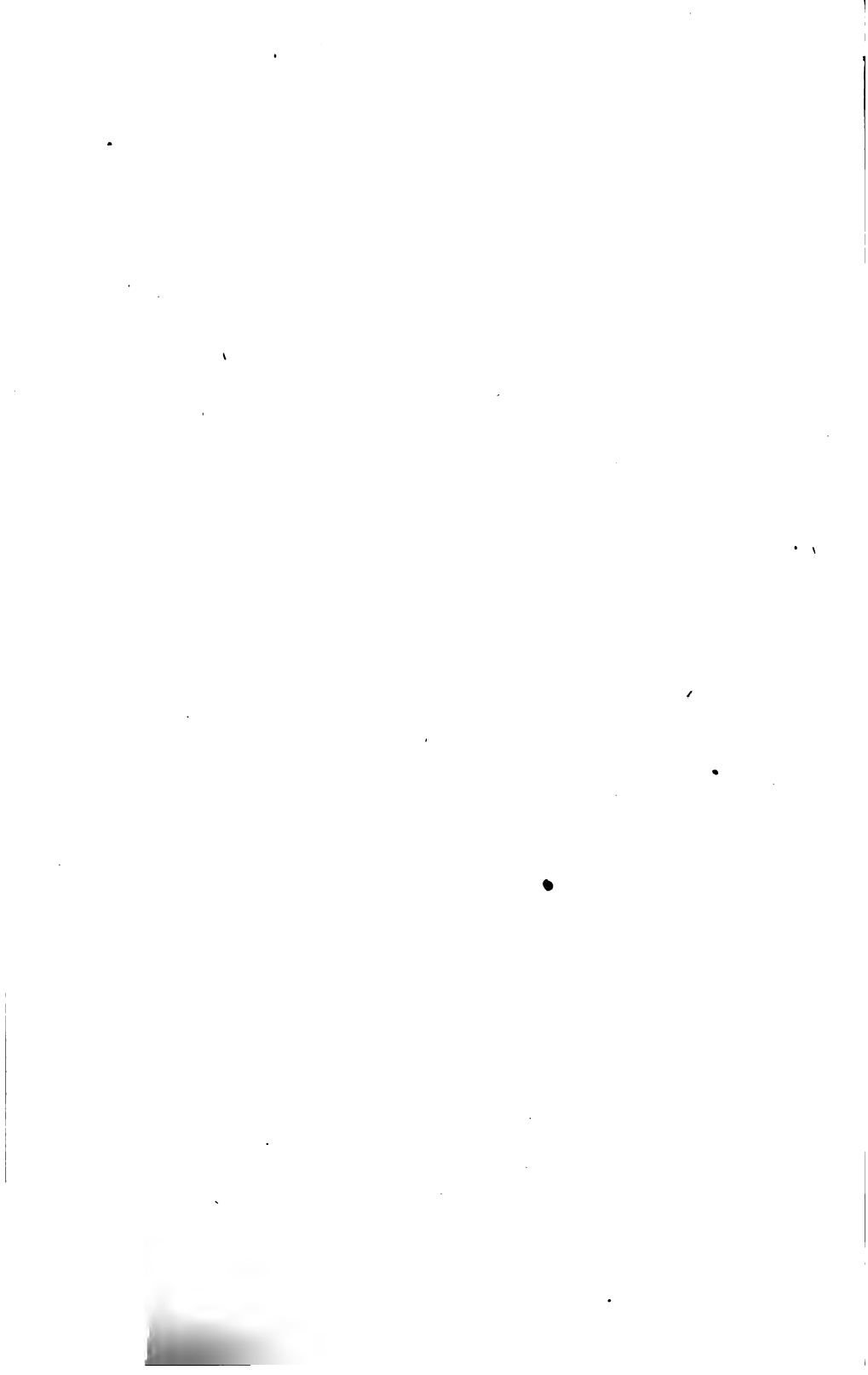
1. Apparent and real Purpose of the King for the Future.
2. Sentiments of Court and Council.
3. Views of the People. Two reasons why the Revolution was delayed.
4. Light that comes to us from the Estimation of Clarendon.
5. False Colors thrown on the Struggle by Hume.

II. THE KING'S POLITICAL OUTRAGES.

1. Violation of Parliamentary Sanctity,—Nine members Imprisoned,—Papers of Seldon, Eliot, and Hollis seized.
2. Violation of the Petition of Right by denial of Habeas Corpus.
3. Persecution of Sir John Eliot to the grave and after.
4. Royal Fraud in Substituting the First Answer to the Petition of Right in place of the Second.
5. Consequences,—Despair of the People,—Disorganization.

III. THE KING'S FINANCIAL DEVICES.

1. Expenses reduced by Treaty of Peace with France and Spain.
2. Collection of Tonnage and Poundage in spite of Law.
3. Right of Search. Imprisonment and Fine of Chambers.
4. Laws dead and buried for centuries raised to Life,—Compulsory Fines,—Forest Laws,—Rockingham,—Salisbury.
5. Sale of Monopolies and its disastrous consequences on Manufactories, and on Prices.
6. Black Mail levied upon the Suburbs of London, also upon Cheapside and Lombard Street. The City humbled.
7. Attorney General Noy brings to light a Precedent for Ship Money. Accepted by the King with Thanks.
8. Opinion of Chief Justice Finch. Logic of Strafford.
9. How the Defeat of Hampden aided the Cause.



XVI.
ENGLAND UNDER CHARLES I.
ECCLESIASTICAL DIFFICULTIES.

Reaction against the Bformation in Italy, in Spain, in France, and in Germany. Two Antagonistic Principles. The great Battle Ground of these Principles, England.

I. TENDENCY TOWARD RELIGIOUS ABSOLUTISM.

1. First Phase of the Established Church under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth.
2. Second Phase of Doctrine as put forward by Bancroft—by Montague—by Mainwaring. "Religion and Alliance."
3. Third Phase as advanced by Archbishop Laud, and as sanctioned by King Charles.
4. Laud's Methods,—Concentration in the hands of Bishops—Increased Activity of High Commission Courts.
5. Results: 1st, Real Revolution,—Constant gravitation toward Catholicism; 2d, Ecclesiastical Power followed by a desire for Complete Ecclesiastical Independence. The Doctrine proclaimed by Dr. Hall, and confirmed by the King.

II. TENDENCY TOWARD RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

1. Cause and Extent of Non-Conformist Differences before the accession of Charles I.
2. Character and Purposes of Non-Conformists during the Reign of Charles I. Saying of Mrs. Hutchinson.
3. Union of all Shades of Belief gives to the Opposition a practical form.
4. The Inundation of Pamphlets. Cases of Workman, Prynne, Burton, Bastwick, Lilburne.
5. First real Organization for Political Purposes.

III. ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND.

1. Primitive Form of the Scottish Church and Attempts to Change it.
2. Essential Difference between the Scotch Reformation and the English. Consequent great mistake of Charles and Laud.
3. The King both firm and yielding, but always in the wrong place.
4. Great Popular Activity and Firmness. League and Covenant.
5. The King twice blusters and twice yields. Chronic Difficulty.
6. Preparation for Invasion. Peace. Royal Difficulties.
7. The "Richelieu Correspondence" comes to the King's Rescue.

XVII.

ENGLAND UNDER CHARLES I.

From the Meeting of the Short Parliament to the Trial of Strafford.

I. THE PARLIAMENT FOR REFORM.

1. Its character as seen by Hume, Clarendon, and Guizot, and as seen from the Debates. 2. The Purpose of the King. 3. Petitions. 4. Citations from Grunstone's and Rudyard's Speeches to Show the Temper of the House. 5. The King learns a Lesson. The People demand Guarantees. 6. Tactics of Hampden and of Hyde. The King Enraged; Parliament Dissolved. 8. Sorrow of Most;—Gladness of St. John and others.

II. FROM APRIL TO NOVEMBER.

1. Desperate Situation of the King. 2. Of two Open Ways he Chooses the Worst. 3. His treatment of Enemies political and ecclesiastical:—The "*Et Cetera Oath*." 4. Charles tries to *crush* but only *hardens*. 5. Popular Violence in the City; Royal Violence in the Country. 6. Northumberland's Remark concerning Defection. 7. Military Movement under Strafford. 8. Complaints redoubled in England; Military Activity redoubled in Scotland. 9. Petitions presented by Wharton and Howard. 10. Strafford rages and the Court hesitates. 11. The King at the End of his Tether. 12. He calls upon a Convention of Lords, as before he called upon Cotton. 13. Parliament, and Peace with the Scots insisted on. 14. The King yields,—Negotiations are begun. 15. The Peers are Security for the King.

III. THE PARLIAMENT FOR REVOLUTION.

1. Its Character as seen in the Spirit of the Election, and as indicated by the words of Clarendon. 2. Its real Purpose and Conscious Sovereignty. 3. Its first Work:—Appointment of Forty Commissioners to receive Petitions. 4. Its first Executive Work:—Release of Prisoners. 5. Oventions. 6. Purposes of Strafford and Pym. 7. Pym delivers his blow first. 8. Impeachment of Strafford and Laud. 9. Triennial Bill with Guarantees. 10. Star-Chamber and High Commission Swept away. 11. The Court stunned into Humility. 12. Unanimity in Political Affairs,—Variety of opinion in Religious Affairs. 13. The King intrigues with the Army for the Suppression of Parliament. 14. Parliament ready for Revolution.

XVIII. ENGLAND UNDER THE LONG PARLIAMENT: TRIAL OF STRAFFORD.

I. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

1. Power of Self-restraint in Individuals and in Society.
2. Evidences of National Strength in the Early Years of the Revolution.
3. The Event which put an end to Popular Patience.
4. Evil Forbodings for the Earl of Strafford.
5. True Place of the Trial in English Criminal History and Jurisprudence.
6. Its value in Establishing Ministerial Accountability.
7. Its importance in Literary History.
8. Fundamental Principles on which the Prosecution was based.

II. CHARACTER OF THE CHARGES AND OF THE EVIDENCE.

1. Acts done in direct violation Law.
2. Words indicating Arbitrary Designs.
3. Counsels tending to the Ruin of the Constitution.
4. Specifications Extending to three divisions of Public Service :
 1. While Governor of the Council of York.
 2. While Lord Lieutenant in Ireland.
 3. While Prime Minister of England.

III. PROMINENT FEATURES OF THE TRIAL.

1. General Theory of the Prosecution compared with that of the Defence.
2. Magnificence of the Trial as reported by Chancellor Baillie.
3. Interest Concentrated on Strafford and Pym. Sympathy.
4. Characteristics of the Oratory of Each illustrated by Citations from their Speeches as reported in Hansard and Rushworth.
5. Pym's response to the argument: "Ireland is a Conquered Country,"—to that of "Necessity."
6. Reference of Certain questions to the Courts. Their Decisions adverse to Strafford.

IV. THE ATTAINDER.

1. Character of the Trial changed by New Evidence.
2. What the Attainder was, and how we are to judge of it.
3. Arguments on the Attainder compared with those on the Trial.
4. Circumstances that hastened the Earl's Destruction.

I. LAST EFFORTS AND LAST HOPES.

1. Attempt to Escape. Attempt to bribe Puritan Balfour.
2. Strafford deserted by Hyde and Falkland.
3. Atrocious Infamy of the King. "Put not your trust in Princes."

XIX.

ENGLAND UNDER THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

(From the Death of Strafford to the Outbreak of the War.)

I. THE REAL TEMPER OF PEOPLE AND KING.

1. Necessity of getting into the Life of History.
2. Real Character of the Times and the Men, illustrated by the Speech of Pym against Laud.
3. Hebraic Type of the Revolutionists, illustrated by Quotation from Paradise Regained.
4. Purpose of the King as revealed by intrigues in Scotland and on the Continent.
5. Earnest work of the Revolution.

II. CHANGES WROUGHT AND CHANGES ATTEMPTED.

1. Abolition of Star-Chamber and High Commission.
2. A Blow at the Bishops in the House of Lords.
3. Report of Pym. Change of royal Counsellors demanded
4. The Grand Remonstrance,—Its Importance,—Its Character,—Violent Discussion concerning it,—Its Presentation to the King and what came of it.
5. Bill concerning Imprisonment of Soldiers. Breach of Privilege.
6. Impeachment of Twelve Bishops.

III. ROYAL INTRIGUES.

1. Intrigues in Scotland. The "Incident."
2. Various attempts at Assassination.
3. Disturbances at London and Westminster.
4. Attempt to seize "The Five Members." Consequent Excitement in London. Petition and Defence.

IV. THE CRISIS.

1. Defiance of the King by an Adjournment of Parliament and a Command to the "Five Members."
2. The King attempts Compromise. Too Late.
3. Triumphant Return of the Five Members.
4. Criminations and Recriminations. Vigorous Remonstrance.
5. The Militia Ordinance. Agitation concerning the Command.
6. The Three Resolutions which "Shook Charles' Throne and Title to the Centre."
7. Royal Standard Erected at Nottingham. General Preparation for War.



XX.
THE GREAT REVOLUTION.

The preparation of the remaining Lectures is unfinished as the Outlines go to Press. It is hoped that the Course may be completed by Six Lectures on Subjects as follows, viz.,

One Lecture on *The Revolution* ; two on *England under Cromwell* ; one on *The Reaction* ; one on *The Supplementary Revolution* ; and one on *The Reforms of the Present Century*.

